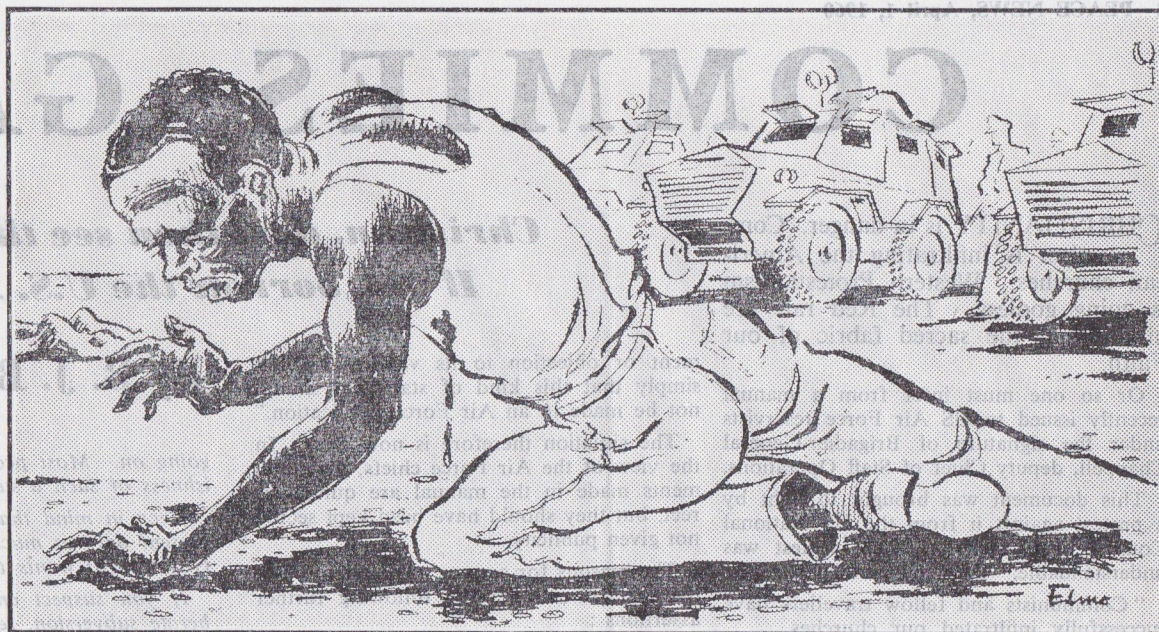




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An Editorial

"It has been the policy of successive Governments, of both political Parties, to help other Commonwealth Governments to meet their armament requirements."—The Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations (Mr. C. J. M. Alport), House of Commons, March 22.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST APARTHEID

NON-VIOLENCE is rapidly ceasing to be regarded as something on a par with flat earth theories. Last week, the Negro sit-ins in the Southern states of the USA put non-violent direct action near the centre of world news. Now three other events raise the question of the importance of non-violence; in South Africa, the Sharpeville killings and the attack on the pass laws by the non-white organisations; in Britain, the protests over the Sharpeville killings and the sit-downs in front of South Africa House; in Accra, the Conference on Positive Action against the Sahara tests, which begins on April 7.

Easily the most urgent of these three is the South African situation. The killing of over 70 people came as a terrible shock. Given the conditions of apartheid, however, something like this was bound to happen. A violent, brutal policy must have violent, brutal consequences. World reaction was very encouraging. In almost every country some kind of protest was made. Even the US Government felt it necessary to make a surprisingly strong statement.

The reaction was unfavourable enough to jolt even Dr. Verwoerd's Government. On Saturday it was announced that the operation of the pass laws would be suspended until tension

African Ministers have made it clear that the pass laws have not been abolished and will be resumed when the Government thinks fit. But it is significant that the South African Government has felt it necessary to make

Government's weak and evasive behaviour, has been a strong one. South Africa House was picketed for a week and ten thousand people were at the Labour Party meeting in Trafalgar Square, last Sunday.

Good though this was, some of the activities of the protesters raised questions about the quality of their actions. If it were not so serious, there would be something very funny about people attending a meeting to listen to speakers, most of whom believe that nuclear bombs are the only sure method of defence, argue the merits of

concerned with nuclear testing in the Sahara, many delegates will no doubt be thinking that non-violent action could also be used to help solve the South African impasse. If some constructive proposals come out of this conference, the status of non-violence will be greatly enhanced.

Training centre

It is to be hoped that non-violence does not gain prestige at the expense of blunting its radical nature. Much of the discussion in Accra may well pivot round the establishing of a non-violent training centre. There is no

non-white organisations, in Britain, over the Sharpeville killings and the sit-downs in front of South Africa House, in Accra, the Conference on Positive Action against the Sahara tests, which begins on April 7.

Easily the most urgent of these three is the South African situation. The killing of over 70 people came as a terrible shock. Given the conditions of apartheid, however, something like this was bound to happen. A violent, brutal policy must have violent, brutal consequences. World reaction was very encouraging. In almost every country some kind of protest was made. Even the US Government felt it necessary to make a surprisingly strong statement.

The reaction was unfavourable enough to jolt even Dr. Verwoerd's Government. On Saturday it was announced that the operation of the pass laws would be suspended until tension was reduced in the Union.

This was obviously a tactical move to appease world opinion. South

African Ministers have made it clear that the pass laws have not been abolished and will be resumed when the Government thinks fit. But it is significant that the South African Government has felt it necessary to make even this tactical concession. The normal response to non-white campaigns has been increased repression. In 1952, when there was a large civil disobedience campaign, it was dealt with by the introduction of harsher penalties.

The African National Congress has been quick to seize on the opportunity this new move has given it. Its President, ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, burnt his pass book and called on all non-whites to do the same. Latest reports suggest that his action has been followed by a great number of people despite police warnings that it was a serious offence to do so. Congress is now in a position where it has made a head-on challenge to apartheid.

Critical months

The next few months will be critical both for Congress and for the whole of the Union. Congress has now been declared a banned organisation. The rioting that took place last Monday when non-whites burnt buildings and stoned people suggests that even in normal circumstances it would be difficult for Congress to direct a disciplined non-violent campaign. Now it is banned the task will be even more difficult. The responsibility for people outside the Union to keep up the pressure becomes even greater. Could not an industrial boycott of South African goods be organised for even a short period?

The protest in Britain, despite the

Government's weak and evasive behaviour, has been a strong one. South Africa House was picketed for a week and ten thousand people were at the Labour Party meeting in Trafalgar Square, last Sunday.

Good though this was, some of the activities of the protesters raised questions about the quality of their actions. If it were not so serious, there would be something very funny about people attending a meeting to listen to speakers, most of whom believe that nuclear bombs are the only sure method of defence, argue the merits of non-violence for opposition to South Africa. The situation becomes almost a pantomime when some of the people in the audience, immediately after the meeting finishes, chase off to break up the offices of Mosley, the fascist leader.

Non-violence

These happenings together with the scufflings and sit-downs outside South Africa House suggest that while people no longer glibly dismiss non-violence, they do not think seriously about it.

If this is not to happen a large scale education campaign on the implications of non-violence is absolutely necessary. We can learn a great deal from the American Committee on Africa which arranged a protest march from a Woolworth's store in New York, where a protest against Woolworth's support for segregated eating places in the South had been held, to the South African Consulate. The Committee also sent a telegram to the South African Premier explaining that it saw apartheid, racial discrimination in the South, Hungary and Tibet as part of a common pattern of inhumanity. In this way clear connections were made in a very practical way.

It is likely that at the Accra Conference for Positive Action against the Sahara tests the need for non-violent education, particularly in relation to Africa's problems, will be fully discussed. Although the Conference is

concerned with nuclear testing in the Sahara, many delegates will no doubt be thinking that non-violent action could also be used to help solve the South African impasse. If some constructive proposals come out of this conference, the status of non-violence will be greatly enhanced.

Training centre

It is to be hoped that non-violence does not gain prestige at the expense of blunting its radical nature. Much of the discussion in Accra may well pivot round the establishing of a non-violent training centre. There is no need to argue the merits of such a centre—its need is sufficiently obvious. What needs to be talked about is the nature of the centre, and how it would be financed.

Finance is the most difficult problem. For such a centre to be a success it would need plenty of money. The obvious source to approach for money would be a Government. And it is likely that one of the African Governments would be ready to provide the money, especially for a centre which was at first primarily concerned with organising action against the French tests. But Governmental support would almost certainly mean some kind of Government control which might greatly restrict the activities of the centre. A centre for training in non-violent action which could do nothing about injustices inside a country because of its connection with the Government would be a disaster.

Two solutions are possible. A centre established with the help of Government funds could be primarily academic, and would take no part in organising specific projects. How satisfactory a compromise this would be it is hard to see until the scheme is tried out in practice. The other solution would be for a centre to be set up (not necessarily in Africa) with independent funds. This would be the ideal solution, we believe. Do we care enough about our beliefs to make it a reality? Or are we to ignore the lessons that recent events have taught us? [See also back page.]



With many others, London County Councillor, Mrs. Anne Clark, was arrested during the sit-down outside South Africa House (London) on Thursday, March 24, after a letter of protest delivered by five Labour MPs had been refused.

COMMIES GALORE

CHRISTIANITY is in danger. Communism is infiltrating the American churches. Western Protestantism is going godless. The Red rats are nibbling at the sacred fabric of our Faith.

Or so one must infer from a manual recently issued to US Air Force reservists under the signature of Brigadier-General Chappell, deputy Chief of Staff Operations.

This document was brought to light by a protest against it from the US National Council of Churches. Their protest was understandable. Says the manual:

"Communists and fellow travellers have successfully infiltrated our churches. . . . Even the pastors of certain churches are card-carrying Communists.

"The National Council of the Churches of Christ in USA officially sponsored the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. Of the 95 persons who served on this project, 30 have been affiliated with pro-Communist fronts, projects and publications."

No complacency please

As a result of the publicity given to the manual the Secretary of the Air Force, Mr. Dudley Sharp, has issued an apology to the National Council of Churches and "categorically repudiated the publication as representing Air Force views."

But we must not allow this apology to lull us into a false sense of security, or interpret it as a denial of the existence of the Red Peril.

Observe then the report, published in I. F. Stone's Weekly, of the Feb. 25 meeting of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Many people seem to think this body no longer exists but followed the soul of Senator McCarthy into the Shades. Not at all. In a country so devoted to the arts of public entertainment you don't get rid of a good farcical comedy all that quick. And this one looks like having a longer run than Charley's Aunt. It fills the gap left by the disbanding of the Keystone Cops.

Anyway, at this meeting Mr. Arens, Staff Director of the Un-American Activities Committee, expressed himself as greatly

***Christian, dost thou see them on the holy ground?
If not, borrow the U.S. Air Chief's binoculars***

By B. J. Boothroyd

going on. Most people realise the foolishness of such a suggestion.

Keep in mind that public news media present only as much information as the Government wants to release.

If you suspect an individual of deliberate subversion, report him, of course, but try to be sure he isn't just dissatisfied or a complainer. If you do know of a

dissatisfied person, nevertheless, he will bear watching.

Keep an eye out at all times for suspicious activities. . . . Don't hesitate to report incidents to the Air Police.

In short, spy on your fellow-servicemen all you can, and keep the public in the dark.

Various members of the Committee then proceeded to emphasise their concurrence with the principles of the manual.

Mr. Doyle complained that "the unfortunate apology" had got into the newspapers and thereby "discredited the work of this Committee."

The chairman, Mr. Walter: "You call it unfortunate. I call it stupid."

Mr. Willis: "It is a black eye on this Committee."

Mr. Arens reported that since they discovered that the leadership of the churches had at least 100 affiliations with Communist causes, they find that "instead of being in the hundreds the affiliations are now, according to our latest count, into the thousands."

And if they go on counting you bet they'll soon run into millions.

Is Satan winning?

Are we then to conclude that the citadel of our Faith really is in danger of succumbing to the onslaught of Satan's Muscovite myrmidons?

There is still hope of salvation. Unfortunately nowadays we cannot launch a large-scale crusade against the infidel, as that would only result in both faithful and infidel going up together within the first 15 minutes, and we should all be back where we were before the Fall. Waste of energy, if you ask me.

But all is not yet lost. The Holy Inquisition is still at work, sorting out the witches and the heretics, and washing the brains of suspects with all the latest deter-

ment or objection to its validity. I felt simply that this kind of statement should not be made in an Air Force publication."

The situation therefore is now clear. In the view of the Air Force chiefs, the statements made in the manual are quite correct, but they should have been kept secret, not given publicity.

The reasons for secrecy are obvious. For the manual includes the following further assertions:

A foolish remark often heard is that Americans have a right to know what's

Colour on the march



...tull us into a false sense of security or interpret it as a denial of the existence of the Red Peril.

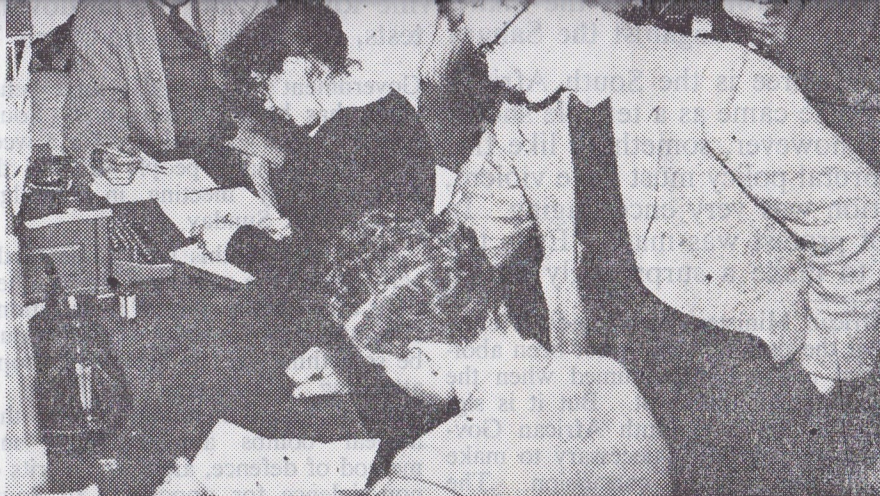
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Anyway, at this meeting Mr. Arens, Staff Director of the Un-American Activities Committee, expressed himself as greatly peeved by the Air Force Secretary's public repudiation of the manual.

"Did you," he asked, "mean to convey the impression that the Air Force was convinced that the Council of Churches was not infiltrated by fellow-travellers?"

Air Force Secretary Sharp: "No. I did not intend any concurrence with this state-



Preparing for Aldermaston. Hard work is now in progress in all the Regions, not to mention the head office, of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Above: the nerve centre of London Region CND.

RED, green, yellow, blue, magenta, orange and gold—lollipop banners in these colours will be bobbing about in the Aldermaston March at Easter.

The colours denote the various regions of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and are mainly for administrative purposes, particularly the accommodation of people and their baggage.

To help solve the question of accommodation on the march, questionnaires have been dispatched all over the country from CND headquarters at 2 Carthusian St., London, E.C.1.

This is but part of the flurry of activity. Throughout the CND Regions, meetings, marches, poster parades, leafleters and loud-speaker vans are out advertising the 50-mile trek. Leafleters will be out, too, for the Boat Race on Saturday, April 2. Posters are going up everywhere: buses, trains, platforms, hoardings, while press advertisements have already appeared.

A press conference will be held a day or two before the march.

The CND headquarters office has issued a pamphlet "Advice to Marchers," giving "do's" and "don'ts." The outstanding "don't" is a plea to marchers not to respond to provocation. The main "do" is to let the headquarters know if you are coming. This will facilitate arrangements for accommodation.

And here, in case you don't know already, are the dates and times:

Good Friday, April 15: assemble

Falcon Field, Aldermaston, 12 noon.

Easter Saturday: assemble King's Meadows, Reading, 9 a.m.

Easter Sunday: assemble Wellington St., Slough, 9.30 a.m.

Easter Monday: assemble Turnham Green, 9.30 a.m. and march to the final rally in Trafalgar Square which starts at 2.30 p.m.

Thousands are planning success for that other, and earlier, Early Warning System against nuclear war—the Aldermaston March.

CHAIN OF PRAYER

FIFTEEN hundred people are supporting a chain of prayer organised by the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship in support of the Aldermaston march. The APF contingent on the march will include five priests.

Religious bodies have other commitments at Easter but the Methodist Peace Fellowship will join the march with its banner at Turnham Green on Easter Monday.

The Society of Friends has circularised all its Peace Correspondents and will send a large contingent under the banner, "Quakers say NO to all WAR."

"Against War and For A Non-violent Society!" is the slogan under which the Nuclear Disarmament Group of the Peace Pledge Union will march. All PPU members and others are welcome to join this contingent and/or help to boost the sales of Peace News.

Is Satan winning?

Are we then to conclude that the citadel of our Faith really is in danger of succumbing to the onslaught of Satan's Muscovite myrmidons?

There is still hope of salvation. Unfortunately nowadays we cannot launch a large-scale crusade against the infidel, as that would only result in both faithful and infidel going up together within the first 15 minutes, and we should all be back where we were before the Fall. Waste of energy, if you ask me.

But all is not yet lost. The Holy Inquisition is still at work, sorting out the witches and the heretics, and washing the brains of suspects with all the latest deterrents.

If the worst comes to the worst and the US Churches do drop Christianity, the US Air Force will take over and, granted the continuation of the nuclear stalemate, the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

But above all I feel that our religion is safe while there are Samsons like Secretary Arens to defend it with the jawbone of an ass.

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DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
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PEOPLE AND PLACES

IN THE SHADOW OF SABRES

ONE of the most remarkable anti-war films ever made, George Franju's "Hotel des Invalides," will be shown tomorrow (Saturday) in the French film season which the National Film Theatre is presenting in London.

Discussing the film, a French critic wrote:

"The film begins as a banal account of the War Museum; the camera circles a monument, wanders along the *quais*, pauses in front of an organ-grinder; it dwells unnecessarily on some architectural details.

"All this is preparation for the shock effect which is to shatter the spectator lulled into security by conventional views. 'The legend has its heroes,' says the commentary about a bust of Napoleon, but continues . . . 'the war has its victims,' as the camera turns to reveal a war victim being wheeled across a courtyard by a nurse.

"This shot sums up the film's whole intention. From this point on we are no longer taken in by the amusing shapes of the cannons, the carving in the armoury, the glorious trophies. We know that the other side of this glory is suffering and death. One amazing close-up shows a flag on which one reads 'Paradise lies in the shadow of sabres.'

"Franju is not concerned simply with the decorations of war, but with its shattered faces as well. If he lingers where others would turn away, it is because his artistic integrity will not allow him to ignore the tragic realities of warfare."

The film was originally commissioned by the Quai d'Orsay as a conventional tribute to the War Museum in Paris. When they saw what Franju had done, they banned the film for quite some time!

It is available now and the British Film



An image of death: a shot from "Hotel des Invalides." Photo: Sight and Sound

Institute has a copy. Unfortunately the commentary, which is very important to the film, is in French. The Friends Peace Committee are trying to raise enough money to provide the film with an English commentary.

Ask no questions

WHY have millions of people forgotten Spain, the 'Thirties and the days when all good men rallied to oppose Franco?

Fascist Spain managed to keep an uneasy "neutrality" during the second world war, and kept out of the picture for a further decade. With the revival by the Western Powers of German militarism, however, it was certain that Spain—ever anxious to be restored to international respectability—would make a come-back.

The United States has a crucial rôle in this operation, as Foreign Minister Casti-

bombs tested by the United States, Russia and Britain in 1958.

Children, according to the report, are the worst affected. One child tested by scientists had 6.9 units of strontium in his bones. Several others had five. These children had died, but one Harwell scientist told the press that there were possibly several hundred children walking around with seven units or more in their bones.

In 1956 the British Medical Research Association stated that if the strontium level rose to 10 units it would become "a matter of urgency because of the risk of fall-out damage to generations yet unborn."

In Norway, investigations carried out by the Defence Research Establishment indicate that fall-out descends more quickly than had previously been supposed. Quoting this finding, the scientific correspondent of *The Times* commented on March 19 that it "conjures up alarming pictures

By Sybil Morrison

'ABOVE THE BATTLE'

When a combatant is seen in the thick of the battle without his principal weapon it is seldom that he has thrown it away on the advice of the bystanders. The safer assumption is that it has been snatched from his hand by his opponent. So it is with Dr. Verwoerd.—Daily Telegraph, March 28, 1960.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH assumes rightly in the particular case of Dr. Verwoerd and his iniquitous pass laws that he has suspended those laws, which are expressly designed to maintain the adhorrent and unnatural system of apartheid, because in the midst of the battle he has lost his grip.

This does not necessarily mean that he will not come back with another weapon, and may, indeed, have dropped this one for the express purpose of picking up a different one; but my purpose is not to discuss the deplorable happenings in South Africa, which are commented upon elsewhere, but to look more closely at the principle laid down in the Daily Telegraph leader.

It is certainly true that in the midst of the heat and hatred, the destruction and disaster, the fear and fury of battle, the combatants are unlikely to throw away a weapon believed to be their most effective, simply because a bystander calls out that it is a bad weapon and a wicked weapon.

The demand made upon Governments to abandon their nuclear weapons, which to them are the principal and most important ones in the battle that is known as the "Cold War," is unlikely to be achieved so long as that battle continues. Weapons are a necessary part of a battle, and a symptom of it.

★

It is noteworthy that many Africans in the recent riots have been hit by "soft-nosed" bullets. These bullets are brothers to the "dum-dum" bullets which were used first in the Boer War and were denounced as weapons unfit for civilised people to use. The bullet penetrates the flesh and then expands, tearing the intestines, organs or muscles of the part of the body penetrated.

If you are not a member . . .

DURING the past few days we have sent out from the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters the Annual Appeal (and ballot papers) to all members



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Replies are coming in steadily, and it is obvious that I cannot expect those to whom the Annual Appeal has gone to respond also to the appeal for the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund this fortnight.

But there are probably many reading this who are not on our live file as signatories of the pledge. Incidentally, if you are a signatory and have not had the Appeal and ballot paper, please let me know, so that we can make the necessary adjustments. If you are not a signatory, we will always be glad to receive your pledge, but in the meantime, may I make a special request to you to help by seeing that the PPU Headquarters Fund does not fall too far behind because of the other appeal.

In the message from PPU Headquarters which has gone to all members I have suggested that we could all show our gratitude to Sybil Morrison, who is retiring from the second period of three consecutive years as National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, and our desire to help the campaigning work of the PPU of which, of course, she continues to be the Organiser, by a special gift to cover the work of the Campaign Committee. Anything you send to the PPU Headquarters Fund this fortnight will go to help that work. So please be as generous as you can.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.

Amount received to date: £174.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Ask no questions

WHY have millions of people forgotten Spain, the 'Thirties and the days when all good men rallied to oppose Franco?

Fascist Spain managed to keep an uneasy "neutrality" during the second world war, and kept out of the picture for a further decade. With the revival by the Western Powers of German militarism, however, it was certain that Spain—ever anxious to be restored to international respectability—would make a come-back.

The United States has a crucial rôle in this operation, as Foreign Minister Castiella realised last week when he went to Washington for talks. It was the State Department that first got military bases in Spain; it was Ike who leaned over backwards in Madrid last December to talk of "peace and friendship"; it is the United States that will get Spain into NATO, for—as Top People could read in their favourite newspaper recently—"the Eisenhower régime is known wholeheartedly to advocate it."

Direct US military assistance in the last decade to the tune of \$430,000,000 is in addition to "stabilisation loans" and over \$1,000,000,000 of economic assistance poured into the country. It is not only in Latin America that the State Department can be accused of siding with dictators against oppressed peoples.

What do American citizens feel about all this? "Liberal opinion in the United States," says *The Times*, "still has no love for the Franco régime, and a good many eyebrows were raised at the President's cordialities in Madrid. But the Administration's approach in such matters is pragmatic and, for all official purposes, the Spanish honeymoon goes on."

Why have millions forgotten Spain? Because political memories are short and international militarism asks no questions. Hungary will soon be forgotten too.

Suffer little children . . .

FALL-OUT is in the news again. In Britain during the first six months of last year the amount was double what fell in the preceding six months.

This is the verdict of Harwell scientists of the Atomic Energy Authority, who published their report on March 21.

The fall-out which they say, will continue to come down "for several more years" is the result of the 58 nuclear

died, but one Harwell scientist told the press that there were possibly several hundred children walking around with seven units or more in their bones.

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In Norway, investigations carried out by the Defence Research Establishment indicate that fall-out descends more quickly than had previously been supposed. Quoting this finding, the scientific correspondent of *The Times* commented on March 19 that it "conjures up alarming pictures which advocates of nuclear disarmament will justly seize upon."

Conjurers please start seizing.

Some like it square

"STUDENTS of King's College in London University plan to raise £10,000 towards the rebuilding of the Lion Boys' Club in Shoreditch. About £5,000 will come from the efforts of the students and a further £5,000 from a social activities subcommittee.

"The first activity will not, as some of the boys of the club had suggested, be a rock 'n' roll evening, but a concert at Wigmore Hall on November 17, at which works by Beethoven, Bach and Mozart will be played."—*The Guardian*.

Breakneck Gallop

CAPITAL punishment is still with us. An ugly reminder of this was the announcement of the execution date of Alexander Main Stirling.

This car salesman was found guilty in the High Court in Edinburgh of shooting a 65-year-old man and his daughter in their home in Edinburgh. He was also charged with breaking and entering and stealing property.

His execution was postponed last Friday. Soon, however, another name will no doubt be added to the list, recently published in *The Observer*, of those who have been hanged since the compromise Homicide Act of 1957. Poisoners may live; a brawling drunk may hang. As the public Gallup polls its way towards vengeance and punishment in the treatment of criminals, one wonders which section of society is the sickest.

Let's hope the Home Secretary gives the public no more rope than it already has.

—Phyz

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Weapons, however horrible, however totally destructive, however meanly barbarous, are available to Governments, and will be used by Governments so long as there is conflict, and so long as victory is the aim and end of that conflict. The hideous weapons used may rightly be denounced for what they are; there may even be agreements between nations that they should not be used, but so long as there is reliance upon war, those agreements will, in the last resort, be mere "scraps of paper," to be torn up if expediency or fear demands it.

It is, as the Daily Telegraph has pointed out, unlikely that combatants will throw away their weapons at the behest of a bystander; but what is not pointed out is that this might be possible if, not a bystander, but someone deeply concerned in the matter, should advocate it as a means of mediation.

Now mediation is not a popular word to-day, and it is difficult to know who or which nation, could, or would, undertake it; it is not usually possible to separate combatants at the height of the conflict; that, in fact, is the very moment when conciliation is least likely to be achieved. Mediation, as Nansen said, if it is to have any hope of success, must be undertaken by "one who is above the battle."

A decision to stand disarmed before the world, not as an expedient but on moral grounds, would mean that one nation stood "above the battle"; that one nation had taken the bravest step of all; a step which would lead to the place where the basic cause of all weapons—war itself—could be rooted out. Total disarmament is the only hope to-day for the human race; by setting the example now Britain could be "above the battle," and by that means be the great mediator for peace.

'Summit' preliminaries . . .

IT is probable that the week now nearing its end will be recognised before very long as the most decisive in many years for the eventual fate of the world.

Mr. Khrushchev and President de Gaulle have been sizing each other up at the Elysée and at Rambouillet. Mr. Macmillan and President Eisenhower have been putting their heads together at Camp David to decide on an agreed attitude towards the Soviets' latest proposals at the Geneva anti-nuclear conference—and the results of these meetings must determine the odds for or against any real success of the coming "Summit" conference.

This might not be so if that conference were to be a long one, offering ample opportunity for thorough discussion and bargaining. But since the original opponents to "Summit" meetings at all have managed to limit the coming one to a timetable allowing for little more than acceptance or refusal of a very few points, its real importance now seems to be restricted to whether the Macmillan idea for a series of periodical "Summit" conferences will be adopted. If so, well and good; if not, the outlook will be black.

. . . off-stage Adenauer

UNBENDING de Gaulle, resourcefully flexible Khrushchev, diplomatic Macmillan, wavering Eisenhower; and off-stage, artful and grimly stubborn Adenauer—these are the men on whom it depends how much of the industrialised nations' labour product in the years to come will be of a "defensively" war-preparing kind and how much, or how little, will go towards the crying needs of starvation-line populations.

There can hardly be a foreign affairs writer who would not cheerfully give a year's extra payment of income tax if that could enable him to watch and to listen-in at the talks between Khrushchev and de Gaulle—to find out whether either side, in spite of all other differences, will walk on to the thin ice of recalling the old days of Franco-Russian friendship based in both countries mainly on fear of Germany.

But the pivot man in the situation is President Eisenhower, wavering between Mr. Herter, the head of his own body of foreign affairs experts, and his military advisers of the Pentagon, reinforced in their adverse attitude towards the latest Russian compromise proposals on underground tests by the Atomic Energy Commission.

As this is written, the President is reported to have decided in favour of Mr. Herter and the Macmillan viewpoint. But past experience suggests caution. Until his voice is heard at the Paris meeting in May the American attitude cannot be taken for certain.

Chancellor Adenauer's off-stage contribution to Western preliminaries to the "Summit" meeting, made in the course of a press interview at Los Angeles shortly before this week's two-and-two meetings of the Big Four, was a mere aside. After asserting that there could be no

COMMENTARY

By

Roy Sherwood

tween the Federal Republic and East Germany were "impossible." But he would not be drawn any further—which is the reason why I have referred to him as artful. That he is also grimly stubborn needs no additional evidence.

The only other thing to be said at this stage of the endeavour to improve the world situation is that there simply is no way of evading the point at which an at least minimum amount of confidence in the other side's honesty becomes imperative. Rigid adherence at all times and in all circumstances to the rule of complete mistrust can inflate national budgets to bursting point—even leaving aside the constantly growing danger of the final explosion into war—but it can never make certain of world relaxation—to which it is contradictory.

More strontium

A REPORT published by the chemistry division of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell states, according to *The Guardian* of March 22, that the amount of radio-strontium in British human bones was still increasing during the first half of 1959. Towards the end of 1958 the average content of strontium in these bones was 0.7 units, with a maximum of 1.4. Twenty-three analyses made in the first six months of 1959 produced corresponding figures of 1.15 and 2.5 units; and during the same period the average strontium content of skeletons younger than five years increased to 2.8 units; for the age group 5-20 years it was 1.05.

Owing to the uneven flow of samples to the laboratories the increase figures may be exaggerated, but it is certain that there was a trend at that time towards a much higher strontium content, due mainly to greater radioactive fall-out in the atmosphere. The next report, covering the second half of last year, is expected with much interest. It should reflect the beneficial consequences of the suspension of atomic tests.

South Africa and . . .

THERE are of course some dissidents among the British public from the general condemnation of the South African Government and its police in their action against anti-pass-law demonstrators. In view of other recent happenings no one will be surprised at that, nor do I think that any personal addition on my part to the widespread outcry can serve a useful purpose. But it seems of interest to me to call attention to the strangely one-sided mentality of such people.

penalty for being found without one—the same for everybody—were to be told, as defaulters were here during the war, to call at the police station the next day and to produce the missing document then. The British wartime identity card put everybody on a level, the black man's pass, recently also extended to women, is the badge of his serfdom.

Now, for the time being, the pass-carrying regulation has been suspended by a police order issued last Saturday. In announcing the suspension the police alleged in explanation that the measure had been decided upon because a great number of natives were going without their passes only because they had been intimidated into leaving them at home by the ferocious threats of agitators. Considering that literally thousands of men and women have asked to be arrested at police stations for being without their passes, this explanation demands as high a degree of credulity as it presumes of the efficiency of the intimidators.

. . . the wider world

HORROR and indignation has been the reaction not only of non-white populations all over Africa but also of white people in practically every part of the world. The Afro-Asian group in the United Nations, already stirred into a demand for a special General Assembly session to discuss France's explosion of an atomic bomb in the Sahara, is now also asking the Security Council to treat the South African issue as a threat to world peace. The Union Government, of course, claims that even the fact of the request having been placed on the agenda amounts to unjustified interference in an internal matter. This Commentary goes to press before the result of the discussion on Wednesday can become known.

The US State Department, which does not normally comment on the domestic affairs of "friendly" countries, has "regretted the tragic loss of life resulting from the measures taken against demonstrators in South Africa" and expressed the hope that the African people "will be able to obtain redress for legitimate grievances by peaceful means."

The British Government, with the Commonwealth Ministers' coming conference in London in view, is in an unenviable position. It cannot make it part of its policy to drive the Union of South Africa out of the Commonwealth and does not want to do anything likely to decide Dr. Verwoerd to stay away from the Commonwealth Ministers' meeting. With full knowledge in its possession of the demonstrations and picketing outside South Africa House and of the many indignation meetings, it cannot even be certain that Dr. Verwoerd will not be greeted with cat-calls, jeers and an antagonistic poster display if he does come to London. Yet, as Mr. Macmillan's speech at Cape Town showed, it shared the British public's hatred of apartheid and the pass-laws even before the Sharpeville shooting.

Mr. Nehru has probability on his side in the opinion that Sharpeville will prove "only a prelude to future conflicts," and it is this probability that forces attention back from the field of feeling to that of political thought. The black population of the Union of South Africa has been driven beyond its power of endurance. It is on the point of such a rupture with its oppressors that

But the pivot man in the situation is President Eisenhower, wavering between Mr. Herter, the head of his own body of foreign affairs experts, and his military advisers of the Pentagon, reinforced in their adverse attitude towards the latest Russian compromise proposals on underground tests by the Atomic Energy Commission.

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Chancellor Adenauer's off-stage contribution to Western preliminaries to the "Summit" meeting, made in the course of a press interview at Los Angeles shortly before this week's two-and-two meetings of the Big Four, was a mere aside. After reasserting that there could be no compromise on the freedom of West Berlin, and speaking of the suggested plebiscite there as if this could be accepted by the Russians as a practical solution of the Berlin question, he made a significant remark in answer to a question. He said that neither a personal meeting between himself and Khrushchev nor direct talks be-

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A recent letter to a London paper by a South African defender of his Government's policy said that the citizens of the United Kingdom all carried identity cards during the war—so why should the Negroes in South Africa object to carrying passes? Well, they probably would not—if the whites, too, had to carry them and if the

Dr. Verwoerd to stay away from the Commonwealth Ministers' meeting. With full knowledge in its possession of the demonstrations and picketing outside South Africa House and of the many indignation meetings, it cannot even be certain that Dr. Verwoerd will not be greeted with cat-calls, jeers and an antagonistic poster display if he does come to London. Yet, as Mr. Macmillan's speech at Cape Town showed, it shared the British public's hatred of apartheid and the pass-laws even before the Sharpeville shooting.

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Mass output of H-bombs?

A NEW theory that H-bombs could be triggered off by TNT (instead of fission explosives made from uranium or plutonium) was published in the United States on March 23.

The author is Dr. Freeman J. Dyson, a noted physicist at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton. His new development, if it proves possible, will put nuclear weapons within reach of almost every country in the world.

Fooling public opinion

WEST GERMANY is to establish military supply bases in Holland.

To placate the Dutch public—which recently suffered German occupation—the bases will be staffed by Dutch troops, and Dutch bases in West Germany are arranged.

Negotiations at the technical level were completed by the two Defence Ministries on March 23. Commented *The Times*: "It has been suggested that the agreement provides only for dumps, and not for supply bases, but this seems to be a semantic exercise intended for public consumption."

Germany is also to have arms depots in

Belgium under an agreement signed on Monday.

A Quaker bet

"I THINK it likely—if I were asked to bet, I would say it was about evens—that within ten years the Governments will not have disarmed."

This was Mr. Philip Noel-Baker's reply to a question at the end of his address on "Prospects for World Disarmament" at the Royal Commonwealth Society in London on March 24.

"We shall have had a nuclear war," he added, "we, our children and grandchildren will all be dead, and the world will be spinning a lifeless radio-active incinerated globe throughout eternity."

Mr. Noel-Baker is a Quaker, the Labour MP for Derby South, and winner last year of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Test ban possible

AN enforceable ban on nuclear tests is possible, the US Science and Technology Committee of the Democratic Advisory Council has stated.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

The Committee maintained that nuclear tests could be adequately monitored to a range of three kilotons, even if the explosions were muffled by taking place in underground excavations.

The Committee declared that the greatest American need for more tests now was in the development of higher yield war-heads for the next generation of ballistic missiles. The Russian need was thought to be two-fold: the development of anti-aircraft and anti-missile war-heads, and the perfecting of war-heads for missiles to be fired from submarines.

There was only one dissident from the report, The Guardian's Washington correspondent reported on March 14. Dr. Gilbert S. Whyte, chairman of the Department of Geography of the University of Chicago, wrote that although he felt that the paper was a "competent technical analysis" he believed it over-valued the soundness of nuclear deterrence as the national policy directed towards the maintenance of peace.

He would prefer that greater emphasis be placed on the urgency of establishing a national peace agency, as proposed by the Committee some time ago, and that it carry out the functions planned for that agency.

Twenty-nine Soviet divisions are now in East Germany, according to the British Government's estimate announced in the House of Commons by the Minister of Defence on February 10.

The first European in Kenya to be convicted by an all-white jury for the murder of an African had his appeal against sentence dismissed on March 21.

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MILITARISM

AT the time of writing, it's not clear whether we're likely to get an agreement to end nuclear tests. If agreement really is reached, it will be the first practical recognition, at governmental level, that in modern conditions war is a more deadly menace than any of the evils it is supposed to ward off.

It would be a modest step, but a momentous one. And even if it is taken, there will be great resistance to taking any further steps in the same direction.

To overcome this resistance one needs to understand it, and something can be learnt from a book recently published, *A HISTORY OF MILITARISM**, by Alfred Vagts. Dr. Vagts traces the relationship between the civilian and military sides of government from feudal times to the present day. He points out an increasing tendency for the military to dominate the societies which they are supposed to protect.

The book first came out in 1937. Although it has been revised and supplemented for its present publication, it obviously belongs to the pre-nuclear age. Since it is written from the point of view of a military man who believes that military men should be kept firmly in their place, this is a serious defect. It is precisely such people who are now most obviously compelled to rethink their ideas about war in the most specific detail.

Perhaps Dr. Vagts has published his rethinking elsewhere, but it is difficult to work out from this book just what it would be. He can actually leave untouched a complaint that armies tend to be out of step with the technological process of the times. "They were not willing to adopt the most modern machinery or to advocate the purchase of the maximum amount of apparatus."

Military machines

On the other hand, he is disturbed by Truman's blithe use of the atomic bombs on Japan, and is properly sarcastic about the French admiral who defended the continued use of submarines by saying that "You could not stop the progress of humanity."

The impression left by Dr. Vagts' work is, in fact, a bit confusing. But this doesn't affect its value as a source-book, whether on such trivial matters as the military habit

me, and be forced to take extreme measures which will lead to war."

On the German side, Moltke answered a suggestion of the Chancellor that preparations against France be stopped, by saying that if that should happen the Kaiser would have "a crowd of men but no army."

In France, Messimy, the War Minister, told Viviani, whose readiness for war was somewhat less decided than that of others, that it was too late for any interference with the order of mobilisation, for "the mechanism had been started."

Dr. Vagts is specially interesting on the Hague Conference on disarmament in 1899. It is curious to read, for example, about the confidence of the Russians concerning the after-effects of disarmament, and the fear of the British delegation that some of the proposals would "favour the interest of savage nations and be against those of the more highly civilised."

'Disband politicians'

This fear may still prove to be the biggest stumbling-block in the way of disarmament on the Khrushchev scale. It clearly lies behind the demand for a heavily-armed central international army to replace national armies—rejected by the Russians as a weapon to keep the world safe for capitalism.

One side of the militarist character is of crucial importance in the problem of abolishing war. This is the soldier's contempt

By

Geoffrey

Carnall

Photo by courtesy of the Belfast Telegraph.



for the politician, the "frock." During the Boer War, Haig wrote home that he wished "to disband the politicians for ten years. We would all be the better without them."

Dr. Vagts' book shows the relation between this and the hero-worship of Carlyle, the megalomania of Napoleon: "In war men are nothing, *one* man is everything." Militarism appeals to the desire to solve problems by imposing a solution—imposed by oneself, that is.

This is very soul-stirring, but, in the nuclear age, clearly suicidal. One has to negotiate, and negotiation requires politicians, and politicians will often be supple double-dealers. Pacifists have been known to be contemptuous of politicians, and not always without reason. But Dr. Vagts makes me wary of the feeling. It is a sobering thought that one may resemble Douglas Haig.

Geoffrey Carnall's ROBERT SOUTHEY AND HIS AGE (Oxford University Press) will be reviewed in Peace News in the near future.

APPEAL TO SCIENTISTS:

Boycott germ warfare

TWO graduate students at Columbia University, USA, are circulating an appeal to physicians and biologists to boycott germ warfare projects, reports the New York Post (March 1).

To launch it on a nation-wide scale, 65 signatories at Columbia and the Rockefeller Institute pledge "as individuals" never to participate in any germ warfare research or experimentation.

Such work they say is "a crime against mankind" and a "betrayal of 2,500 years of medical research."

'Quarantine' the campaign

Dr. Harry Baron, assistant professor of biochemistry at New York Medical College, told the Post:

"I'm all for such a ban; I feel precisely the same way. Any research with the destruction of mankind as its purpose must be condemned."

The New York Post makes it clear that a determined effort will be made by the heads of bacteriology departments to "quarantine" the campaign.

Prof. Daniel M. Lilly, a biology department chairman, said that he was in the Army Reserve and the pledge would violate his oath which "requires me to do whatever is necessary in defence of our country, germ warfare or not."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sharpeville

IT is said that police at Sharpeville were shocked at the carnage. The demonstrators had been mowed down with such violent gunfire that some of the bodies were dismembered.

Here surely panic and incompetence went hand in hand—or hatred unbridled?

But Colonel Pienaar, Sharpeville police commander, remarks, "A stone hit my car." Seventy-two dead! A stone hit his car!

In a world of nightmare two Salvation Army officers attempt to comfort the

from clear that any of his predecessors did. The so-called "right of self-defence" has never been asserted in a synod of bishops, whether Roman, Orthodox, or Anglican. With its present-day implications it is very difficult to see how it ever could be.

We are therefore left in this matter either with doctrine which needs no pronouncement or with mere opinion. I very much doubt whether statements of opinion in seasonal messages can seriously rank with *ex cathedra* or synodical doctrinal pronouncements. But this doesn't for a moment suggest that there is no Catholic position on the subject of self-defence.

legions of angels. Likewise Christians, and particularly Catholics, throughout the centuries have proclaimed, more out of devotion than philosophical fact, "we have no rights."

I entirely agree with Sybil Morrison's statement that "there is no sound principle" for merely nuclear disarmament. Sound principles are necessarily positive. We need to transform a negative attitude to Russia into a positive attitude to Africa, South-East Asia and parts of Europe, to refugees and sufferers from cancer and muscular dystrophy. We need to learn, once

step with the technological process of the times. "They were not willing to adopt the most modern machinery or to advocate the purchase of the maximum amount of apparatus."

Military machines

On the other hand, he is disturbed by Truman's blithe use of the atomic bombs on Japan, and is properly sarcastic about the French admiral who defended the continued use of submarines by saying that "You could not stop the progress of humanity."

The impression left by Dr. Vagts' work is, in fact, a bit confusing. But this doesn't affect its value as a source-book, whether on such trivial matters as the military habit of violent swearing, or on weightier issues such as the tendency for military machines to start working on their own account—a problem that existed before the missile age.

"I foresee," the Czar complained to the Kaiser during their last exchange of telegrams at the end of July, 1914, "that I shall very soon be overwhelmed by the pressure exerted upon"
*Hollis and Carter, 42s.

Briefly

Royston Carss, the young airman whose refusal to handle nuclear weapons was reported in Peace News, March 11, was recognised as a conscientious objector by the London Appellate Tribunal sitting in its advisory capacity on Feb. 29, and was discharged from the RAF on March 4.

"Persuade President Eisenhower to agree to latest proposals of Soviet representative on the ending of nuclear tests," the Peace Pledge Union urged Prime Minister Macmillan in a telegram sent last Friday.

Minnie Pallister, popular "Woman's Hour" broadcaster, political journalist and Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, died last Saturday. She had been a national propagandist for the Independent Labour Party (Keir Hardie described her as "a new star on the horizon") and an editor of *No More War*.

CALLING ALL ESPERANTISTS!

URGENT!

to the Aldermaston March, under our flag
"Esperanto for Peace."
Contact: Miss F. Parraige, 10, Woronzow
Rd., N.W.8. PRI 0441.

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In a world of nightmare two Salvation Army officers attempt to comfort the bereaved.

In this same nightmare world, Dr. Verwoerd announces that the African protest had nothing to do with the pass laws or apartheid. According to him Africans suffer from a malady that breaks out now and then—a sort of mysterious measles.

One wonders if Dr. Verwoerd's own actions are governed by the phases of the moon.—(Mrs.) **H. GOODBODY, 59 West St., Faversham, Kent.**

No taxes for war

MRS SYBIL WHITE and the Direct Action Committee are being misled if they think that the Inland Revenue are "getting round" her refusal to pay part of her tax. The method outlined in PN March 18 is the normal method of clearing their books when tax is in arrear.

These gestures are all very well, but when somebody tells me how to be consistent by avoiding Purchase Tax, Excise Duty, Estate Duty and all the other taxes used for war, I would be prepared to consider withholding income tax, which incidentally is probably the fairest tax of the lot, being based as it is on the ability to pay.—**RONALD W. BARNES, 4 Grange Drive, Bridgwater.**

Catholics and defence

AS one who tries very hard to maintain a Catholic outlook, I am in a state of profound disharmony with your correspondent, Mr. B. J. Wicker, over his assumption that "the whole Catholic position rests upon the right of self-defence."

As far as I know the previous Holy Father made no infallible *ex cathedra* pronouncement on the subject, and it is far

from clear that any of his predecessors did. The so-called "right of self-defence" has never been asserted in a synod of bishops, whether Roman, Orthodox, or Anglican. With its present-day implications it is very difficult to see how it ever could be.

We are therefore left in this matter either with doctrine which needs no pronouncement or with mere opinion. I very much doubt whether statements of opinion in seasonal messages can seriously rank with *ex cathedra* or synodical doctrinal pronouncements. But this doesn't for a moment suggest that there is no Catholic position on the subject of self-defence. There are many doctrines which have a substantial bearing on the subject, but which need no pronouncement. The fact is that the phrase "Catholic position" is about as misleading in the present century as were the words "happiness" and "instinct" in the last.

Much as we might like to hide ourselves behind the arras of episcopal opinion, we are not only allowed, but actually bound, as Catholics to think for ourselves. Unless we can do that, there is no virtue in obedience and no substance in our apparently united front. If we are to give an account of the faith that is in us as well as merely to assert it, we have no option but to think for ourselves.

There is no such thing as an absolute right to anything, and it is, I submit, quite impossible to discover in our Lord's teaching any word or expression which corresponds to what we mean by "right." A "right" is merely an ethical postulate to simplify our understanding of "duty." If it's Peter's duty to pay Robin, then Robin has a "right" to be paid. If men have a "right" to live, they have a duty to "let live." It is impossible to think of any "right" which has not been acquired in the course of history.

Christianity, like the Mosaic law before it, touches this reasoning only at the point of "duty." Divine Providence foresaw the endless controversies and vicious circles which would arise from setting dues side by side with responsibilities. Thus Moses and Christ and the prophets simply exhorted men to do their duty, and showed them what this duty was.

Christ entirely abrogated His "right" to self-defence by refusing to allow the violent aid of disciples or the intervention of

legions of angels. Likewise Christians, and particularly Catholics, throughout the centuries have proclaimed, more out of devotion than philosophical fact, "we have no rights."

I entirely agree with Sybil Morrison's statement that "there is no sound principle" for merely nuclear disarmament. Sound principles are necessarily positive. We need to transform a negative attitude to Russia into a positive attitude to Africa, South-East Asia and parts of Europe, to refugees and sufferers from cancer and muscular dystrophy. We need to learn, once for all, the meaning of peace.—**T. J. EVANS, "Glendale," Holwood Pk. Ave., Keston, Kent.**

German 'Aldermaston'

WE are organising a party to go to Hamburg to join the 70-mile German "Aldermaston March" to Bergen Hohne at Easter.

Will anyone wishing to take part in this contact Mrs. B. Youngday at the address below. Tel.: Acorn 2109.

The reduced return fare is £10 15s.—**BRIGID YOUNGDAY, LIESL DALES, 33 Park View, London, W.3.**

British 'Aldermaston'

MERSEYSIDE Group of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have hired a coach for the last day of the Aldermaston March. It will leave Liverpool at 11 p.m. on Easter Sunday and arrive at London at 7 a.m. Easter Monday, joining the marchers at Turnham Green. The coach will leave London at 6 p.m. on Monday, arriving back in Liverpool at 2 a.m. Tuesday. Return fare 28s. 6d. Will all those interested please get in touch with Mrs. Roberts, 34, Druids-ville Rd., Liverpool 18 (phone Gateacre 2991), as soon as possible and help to form a really big contingent from Merseyside this year.—**JOAN E. ROBERTS, Merseyside Group, CND.**

TO-NIGHT

Friday
at 7 p.m.

Preliminary meeting for Peace
News sellers on the
Aldermaston March

BACKGROUND TO A REVOLT

By Alan Lovell

THE power of non-violent action has rarely been demonstrated so dramatically as it has been in the United States in the last month.

While Southern Senators have been conducting a 200-hour filibuster in the Senate so that they can get the weakest possible Civil Rights Bill, they have been by-passed by the "sit-ins" in Southern eating places. These actions by the Negroes are beginning to make "filibusters" and other political manoeuvres irrelevant.

The Southern Senators are not the only people who have been taught a lesson by these Negro demonstrations. Anybody who is concerned with racial justice or non-violence can learn a great deal. In the rest of this article I want to discuss three important lessons of the Negro revolt. They are:

1. The direction of social change.
2. The need for preparation.
3. The sources for future social change.

The spontaneity of direct action

The present movement began when four students sat down in a lunch counter which only serves Negroes standing up and asked for service. This was not part of an organised plan. Four people just decided to make as simple and direct a protest as possible against an injustice which affected them every day of their life. Just as spontaneously, their protest spread across the South.

I think this indicates something important about the direction and nature of social change. For many years now radicals have been preoccupied with the need to build up large organisations which would be the agents of change. The kind of change they wanted was large scale institutional change.

The weaknesses of this attitude are becoming more and more evident. Organisations petrify and stifle people. They encourage conservatism. One only has to look at the British trade union movement to see this clearly demonstrated. A movement which started out wanting to make revolutionary changes in society becomes a

COLOUR LINE, CORE, \$1) describes some of the significant actions that CORE has been involved in. I will quote a description of one action at some length to give readers an idea of the kind of work CORE does.

The Nashville Story

In Nashville, CORE helped make school integration work despite mob violence which marked the change-over from segregation in the autumn of 1957. In so doing, CORE evolved a workable community programme which might well be applied in any Southern community where court-ordered school integration is being thwarted.

"If Little Rock had had a similar interracial group, Governor Faubus might have

The pamphlet goes on to relate how "the crisis was soon reduced to manageable size," and how Kasper (John Frederick Kasper, professional segregationist who had come to Nashville for the occasion) and his mobs were suppressed. As Anna Holden explains it:

"The tide was turned because the police finally enforced the law and because a handful of Negro parents, staunchly backed by CORE, ministers and other forces of decency, persisted in sending their children to formerly white schools."

CORE has now actively joined in the "sit-in" campaign, and its three field workers are all active in the South. But CORE is not just content to start actions. By preparing beforehand for the actions, it hopes to prepare participants for what they are likely to meet.

In the News Chronicle, Joyce Egginton recently described a CORE "rehearsal" in Portsmouth, Virginia, where a CORE field worker had gone as it was one of the few

"He went wrong there," she told the class instructor. "Maybe the man was saving that place for his wife, so the student should have tried sitting somewhere else."

The instructor agreed, holding up the show for a brief lecture on the technique of passive resistance.

Then the scene was acted again. Over and over again until the students got it right. Until the instructor pronounced them ready to put it on in public.

I think these examples give some idea both of the nature of CORE's activities, and the seriousness and persistence with which they are carried out. (CORE is now appealing for more funds so that it can act even more seriously.)

Non-violence is not a natural growth; it has to be carefully cultivated. Anybody who is seriously concerned about non-violent direct action would do well to study CORE's work.

Sources of social change

The spearhead of the campaign has been Negro students. The clue to why students are the leaders was given by the white, quoted in our news story last week, who said: "They aren't afraid any more." The students have a wide enough background to see that white domination is not part of the scheme of things, but something that can be challenged and altered.

This is not surprising and it might have been predicted. What is surprising is that the Negroes should use a non-violent form of protest. One might well have anticipated that violence would have been their response.

One of the reasons for the use of non-violence is, of course, strategic. Violence would be foolish since the Southern whites have all the organisation and equipment to use violence much more effectively than the Negroes.

But even strategic reasons do not give you the courage that is necessary for the use of non-violence. This courage surely springs from the Negro condition. In the South the Negro is in danger every day of his life. He might be attacked by white hooligans, he might be arrested for little reason. In this situation you must have



South.

I think this indicates something important about the direction and nature of social change. For many years now radicals have been preoccupied with the need to build up large organisations which would be the agents of change. The kind of change they wanted was large scale institutional change.

The weaknesses of this attitude are becoming more and more evident. Organisations petrify and stifle people. They encourage conservatism. One only has to look at the British trade union movement to see this clearly demonstrated. A movement which started out wanting to make revolutionary changes in society becomes a movement which is fairly content with things as they are. It is led by bureaucratic and complacent men.

When organisations petrify people become bored. Everything is too large for them to feel involved. Even if changes come about, they are so watered down by the time they are put into operation that they have little effect in people's lives.

The "sit-ins" in the South point quite a different way. They point to direct simple actions against injustices that people meet constantly in their lives. There are many advantages of this kind of action. It springs directly from people's own experience. If it is to work everybody has to take a full part in the action. Though there is obviously still a need for leaders, the gap between them and the rank and file is much smaller.

Preparations

Although the present revolt began spontaneously, it was not unprepared for. For the last 20 years in the United States there has been continuous propaganda and experiment for non-violence as a way of solving racial problems. The most famous example of this is the year's boycott by Negroes of the bus service in Montgomery, Alabama, because there was segregated seating on the buses.

Less known, but no less important, has been the work of the Congress of Racial Equality. CORE was founded in 1942 by James R. Robinson, George Houser and James Farmer with the aim of using non-violent direct action to solve racial problems. Since then CORE has experimented with this method in many forms throughout the United States.

A recently published pamphlet by PN contributor Jim Peck (CRACKING THE



CORE protests racial discrimination wherever it finds it. In this picture, white and coloured CORE members demonstrate against discrimination in the employment of airline pilots. Photo: Cracking The Colour Line

been checked without the use of federal troops," wrote Martin Luther King, Negro leader of non-violence.

King wrote this in a preface to the pamphlet, "A First Step Toward School Integration," in which Anna Holden, a leader of Nashville's CORE, gives a vivid account of the group's campaign.

For example, the day the Hattie Cotton school was bombed, the pamphlet relates: "Mrs. Watson telephoned Dr. Miller (a member of the CORE group).

"If I ever needed anybody, I needed somebody that morning," she recalled. "I had got a phone call threatening to set the house on fire if Barbara Jean went to school. I couldn't go off and leave the rest of the children alone. And I knew she had to go to school."

"Barbara Jean was dressed and ready. Dr. Miller came promptly. He drove the child five blocks to her school. Then he took her by the hand and they walked through a crowd of jeering whites.

"The same morning, Mrs. Charles Martin, another CORE member, walked to the Jones School with her neighbour, Mrs. Myrtle Battle and another first grader, Charles Edward Battle. In the Glenn School area of East Nashville the Rev. R. W. Kelley, of Clark Memorial Church, accompanied several children to school. Teen-age boys in the booing crowd got themselves photographed for newspapers by standing behind Rev. Kelley, pretending to measure him for a coffin."

places where Negroes had become violent when provoked:

On a Saturday afternoon, in the gymnasium of a YMCA at Portsmouth, Virginia, some 50 Negro students met to act out a private little drama which they made up as they went along.

Their stage "props" consisted of two kitchen tables placed end to end with a line of wooden chairs along one side of them.

As these were set in position, the students' instructor, a slim, young, white man who looked no more than a college boy himself, assigned the parts.

"You will be the manager of this lunch counter," he said to one. "You are a waitress. You two pretend you are white customers.

"Then I want ten more to play their own roles as Negro students."

The mime began.

This seat reserved

The two "white" men took their places at the tables and pretended to order coffee. The first Negro came in and attempted to sit beside one of them.

The "white" man put his hand on the chair and said angrily: "I'm saving this place for my wife."

The Negro hesitated for a moment then began to argue back.

Immediately a girl in the audience put up her hand.

the Negroes should use a non-violent form of protest. One might well have anticipated that violence would have been their response.

One of the reasons for the use of non-violence is, of course, strategic. Violence would be foolish since the Southern whites have all the organisation and equipment to use violence much more effectively than the Negroes.

But even strategic reasons do not give you the courage that is necessary for the use of non-violence. This courage surely springs from the Negro condition. In the South the Negro is in danger every day of his life. He might be attacked by white hooligans, he might be arrested for little reason. In this situation you must have courage; it is the only way to survive.

The important point for radicals is that for non-violent action rather different qualities are needed than for the more traditional kinds of political action. Exactly what these qualities are and how they can be developed needs to be discussed at great length.

These three points are not the only ones raised by the "sit-ins." But I think they are three of the most important. A careful consideration of them will have consequences for our own actions, particularly in the struggle against nuclear war. I hope they will be considered.

One of the weakest features of the case for non-violence has been its lack of a coherent intellectual position. We are getting plenty of action to provide us with ideas. Now let's get on with the theory.

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Advertisements for the Easter issue of Peace News (April 15) should reach our office by first post Friday, April 8.

MEETINGS

SUNDAY, APRIL 3, 6.30 p.m., at Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. "Christian Faith & Practice": Speaker: Wilfred E. Littleboy.

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LITERATURE

THE SAHARA BOMB CONFERENCE

SEVENTEEN SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

By **FENNER BROCKWAY, MP** *Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom*

FROM April 7 to April 9 a conference representing African national movements is to be held in Accra to consider what action of a non-violent character can be taken to influence the French Government to refrain from testing further nuclear weapons on African territory.

This conference has arisen from the protest which was made against the Sahara test. Let no one think that the team led by Michael Scott and Bayard Rustin failed because the French succeeded in exploding the bomb and because the team did not reach its site.

The attempt intensified interest in the event and opposition to the bomb all over the world. It proved to Africans the sincerity of many whites, about whom there is sometimes cynicism. It stimulated Africans to further action, illustrated by the coming conference.

What can be done? Perhaps I can throw a few ideas into Accra's pool of discussion.

1. There are eight independent states in addition to the Union of South Africa. Have they all sent official calls to the French Government not to plan any more tests in Africa? Perhaps they might do so simultaneously.

2. The Governments might consider modifying or breaking diplomatic relations with France if this promise is not given.

3. A joint appeal might be sent by the Governments to all the delegations at the United Nations in anticipation of

the forthcoming discussion, and to all the delegations at the Disarmament Conference at Geneva.

4. The Governments might consider issuing jointly an Appeal To The World against any further rape of Africa. If written in dignified human and moral terms, it might make a deep impression.

5. The Governments might consider if any economic sanctions could be applied to France if tests are renewed.

6. The most effective African pressure on France can be brought by the peoples in the territories of the French Community. But this must come spontaneously from within the territories. Leaders and movements who are against the tests are known, and fraternal greetings might be sent to them.

7. They might consider planning in their territories campaigns of leaflets, meetings, processions and petitions to their Governments. The Mali Federation, Dahomey, four Republics of French Equatorial Africa, and Madagascar are moving towards greater independence. Their Governments might be urged by their peoples to express opposition to more tests.

8. The Accra Peoples' Conference might issue a dramatic appeal to the peoples of the world, calling on nations everywhere

(a) to demand that their national delegations to the United Nations shall support a protest against the Sahara test and an appeal to the French Government against further tests, and

(b) to send similar protests and appeals themselves directly to the French Government.

9. A special protest and appeal might be signed by all the best known African leaders from every African country and forwarded to the French Government, and given to the Press after it has reached Paris.

10. In African countries still under colonial rule deputations might go to the Governors expressing the opposition of the people to further tests and calling on the Colonial Governments to express this to France as the determined view of the people.

11. The Peoples' Conference might decide that the anniversary of the Sahara bomb test should be remembered as **SAHARA BOMB DAY?** Sahara Bomb Day and made the occasion of demonstrations in Africa and throughout the world demanding No More Tests.

12. In all the independent African States deputations might also go to the French Embassies or Consulates on Sahara Bomb Day.

13. On this day deputations to President de Gaulle might be planned from every African country. Even if they were stopped before reaching Paris, the



Worthwhile? Speakers: Will Parkin (CND), Arthur Maddison (Co-op.), Bristol Left Club.

SOUTHEAST: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Dundonald Drive, Leigh. Film Show in aid of World Refugee Year. PPU.

Thursday, April 7

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. "The Real Meaning of the South



Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of

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LITERATURE

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THE MYTH OF DEFENCE—by Leslie Hale. One of the articles in the current issue of Labour Peace Bulletin. Obtainable at 5d. a copy including postage from Denis Brian, LPF, 24a, Breakspears Road, London, S.E.4.

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PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the dispatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed (Mon. to Fri., 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 5, Caledonian Rd., King's Cross, London, N.1.

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SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Portobello Market. 10 a.m. onwards. Propaganda for Peace Bookstall; also children's and miscellaneous fiction. Porchester Group PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Weekend work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1.2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 8 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Lane (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

do so simultaneously.

2. The Governments might consider modifying or breaking diplomatic relations with France if this promise is not given.

3. A joint appeal might be sent by the Governments to all the delegations at the United Nations in anticipation of



Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Please send diary notices for the Easter issue of Peace News (April 15) to reach our office by the first post, Friday, April 8.

Friday, April 1

LONDON, N.1: 6.30 p.m. refreshments, 7 p.m. meeting, 5 Caledonian Rd., (Nr. Kings Cross). Ian Dixon "Campaigning with PN." Chair Hugh Brock. Preliminary meeting for Peace News sellers on the Aldermaston March.

MARLOW: 8 p.m. Crown Hotel. Public Meeting. Speaker: The Rev. Dr. Donald Soper. CND.

LONDON, E.17: 8 p.m. Friends Hall, Greenleaf Rd. Speaker: Rev. Noel Bruen. Walthamstow Peace Council.

Saturday, April 2

LONDON, W.5: 2.45 p.m. Friends Meeting Ho., Woodville Rd. "Practical Peacemaking." Eileen Fletcher, Sec. APF. Anita Hicks, IFor. Chair: Phyllis Nash, SoF. Tea. Discussion. For., APF., PPU invited. Details: Stanley Dyke, Sec. W. London For., 48 Barnfield Road, W.5.

LONDON, W.C.2: 2 p.m. Kingsway Hall, Room 32 & 31. 5th Annual Conference of the Fellowship Party.

LONDON, W.C.2: 7.45 p.m. Kingsway Hall, Public Meeting: "Pacifists Must Contest Elections." John Loverseed, AFC, Ronald Mallone, BA. Other speakers. Discussion. Fellowship Party.

LONDON, W.1: 2.30 p.m. Sackville St., Piccadilly. Aldermaston Poster Parade ending Manette St. for open air meeting 4 p.m. Westminster CND.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting for Business and Discussion. "Why Worship?" Rose Edwards. Visitors welcome. PPU Religion Commission.

LONDON, W.11: 10 a.m. onwards. Portobello Market. Propaganda for Peace Bookstall; also childrens books and miscellaneous fiction. Porchester Group PPU.

Sunday, April 3

BIRMINGHAM: 11 a.m. and 6 p.m. Warley Institutional Church. Preacher, Stuart Morris. PPU.

Saturday and Sunday, April 2 and 3.

ABERGELE: Gasswood Guest House. Sat. tea —Sun tea. Week-end Conference. 17s. inclusive. Details: Llew Lloyd, 25, Derwent Ave., Prescot, Lancs. North-West Area PPU.

Monday, April 4

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221, Vicarage Rd. Meeting of Kings Heath & Cottesridge Group. Speaker: Stuart Morris. PPU.

LONDON, W.2: 8 p.m. 16, Westbourne Park Rd. (Porchester Rd. end) Group Meeting. Porchester PPU.

Wednesday, April 6

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. "Crown and Dove," Horse fair. Debate: "Is Another Aldermaston

territories campaigns of leaflets, meetings, processions and petitions to their Governments. The Mali Federation, Dahomey, four Republics of French Equatorial Africa, and Madagascar are moving towards greater independence. Their Governments might be urged by their peoples to express opposition to more tests.

Worthwhile? Speakers: Will Parkin (CND), Arthur Maddison (Co-op.). Bristol Left Club.

SOUTHERN: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Dundonald Drive, Leigh. Film Show in aid of World Refugee Year. PPU.

Thursday, April 7

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. "The Real Meaning of the South African Boycott." Alan Lovell. PPU.

Friday, April 8

CROYDON: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Park Lane. Peace Forum—"Any Questions" to Rev. Kenneth Greet, Stuart Morris, Hilda von Klenze, Bryan Reed. Chairman: Councillor Harry Robertson. Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Saturday, April 9

BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m. Midland Institute, Paradise St. Annual General Meeting. Committee 2.30 p.m. West Midlands Area PPU.

Sunday, April 10

SOUTHAMPTON: 6.30 p.m. 20, Brintons Road. Miss Bailey. Vegetarian Religious Fellowship.

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12. In all the independent African States deputations might also go to the French Embassies or Consulates on Sahara Bomb Day.

13. On this day deputations to President de Gaulle might be planned from every African country. Even if they were stopped before reaching Paris, the effect might be tremendous.

14. Every known sympathiser in France and every sympathetic organisation might be asked to prepare a deputation to the President and to hold meetings on this day.

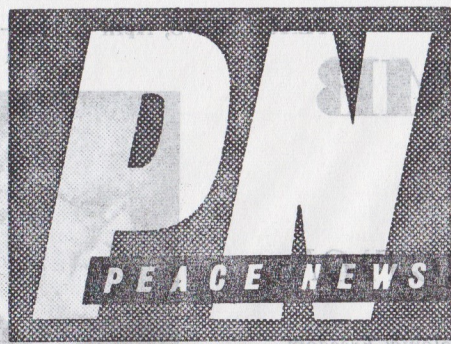
15. Every sympathetic organisation in the world might be asked to send deputations to French Embassies and Consulates and to hold meetings on this day.

16. The Accra conference might appoint a committee to consider whether a boycott of French goods would be practicable throughout Africa in the event of France proceeding with another bomb test, and, if it is thought to be so after consultation with representative organisations, co-ordinated preparations should be made for the boycott as soon as the French intention is known.

17. The Accra conference might appoint a committee to consider whether teams from every African country and from sympathetic movements in other countries might be organised which would be ready to leave for any part of Africa where and when the intentions of proceeding with a further test became known. The teams would no doubt be stopped, but if 20 made the attempt the effect would be world-wide and impressive.

I make these suggestions tentatively. It is for the African peoples themselves to decide what they will do. I think it likely they may have many better ideas. They can be sure that whatever non-violent technique they adopt, they will have the support of millions of people outside Africa.

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1240, April. 1, 1960 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

Racial equality is coming

—FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

NOTHING can prevent racial equality in South Africa, Fenner Brockway, MP, asserted on Sunday at the annual conference of the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

The Chairman of the MCF gave these reasons for his prediction:

- The Europeans were fast becoming demoralised and disintegrated;
- They were dependent on African labour in the mines, etc.;
- Pressure of world opinion—as expressed by governments, groups and individuals—was growing.

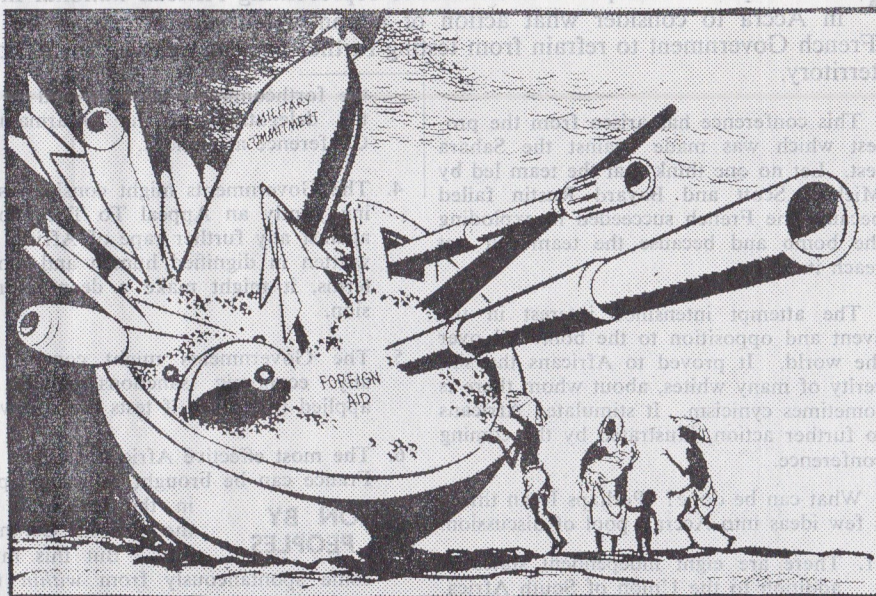
An emergency resolution, in sympathy with the unarmed Africans killed recently at Sharpeville and Langa, was passed by the conference and the MCF pledged itself to raise funds for relief of the victims.

The conference also called for the release of Jomo Kenyatta, Dr. Hastings Banda and other African leaders now in detention. It also accepted the duty to arouse the same concern that people felt about South Africa with regard to other parts of the world, such as Algeria, Portugal and Kenya.

The conference adjourned early in order to join the London rally against apartheid. Among several motions left undiscussed was one calling upon the conference to "ensure that a portion of the money raised for World Refugee Year is set aside for the relief of Tibetan refugees as they constitute victims of a colonial war."

BOYCOTT WILL CONTINUE

ALL THOSE WHO HAVE SUPPORTED THE INTENSIFIED CAMPAIGN IN BRITAIN DURING MARCH ARE ASKED TO CONTINUE THEIR INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOODS "UNTIL THE POLICY OF APARTHEID IS REVERSED."



A BOWL OF RICE—WITH LUMPS IN IT!

20 African States at Accra peace conference

AT least 20 African States will be represented at the Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa which begins in Accra next Thursday (April 7).

The Conference is sponsored by a number of independent African States, including Ghana, Liberia, Guinea, the United Arab Republic, Tunisia, Ethiopia and Libya—many of which will be represented at Ministerial level.

Other States that will be represented include Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia,

struggle in the American South, who will represent Dr. King at the Conference.

April Carter, Secretary of the British Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, A. J. Muste, national chairman of the US Committee for Non-violent Action, Gene Sharp, former PN staffman now in Oslo studying non-violence, and John Rex,

The national committee of the Boycott Movement decided on March 23 to make this appeal and to continue its existence after March with the title "The Anti-Apartheid Committee."

The committee will co-ordinate and sponsor the activities of individuals and organisations who oppose the racial policies of the South African Government.

Local demonstrations

The 160 local boycott committees which have sprung up during the intensified campaign have also been asked to continue local demonstrations in connection with such events as the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, the South African touring cricket team, South Africa Freedom Day (June 26), etc.

Proposals put forward by the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination in Sport are to be supported. A variety of protest activities which could be organised by local committees will be suggested.

● The Anti-Apartheid Committee will operate from this week-end from 200 Gower Street, London, N.W.1.

Show outside sympathy, say Africans

From a correspondent who has made a study of South African affairs and has recently left the country. As he hopes to return he must remain anonymous.

I FOUND the general feeling among Africans in favour of the overseas boycott—this is the opinion of both

the conference and the MCF pledged itself to raise funds for relief of the victims.

The conference also called for the release of Jomo Kenyatta, Dr. Hastings Banda and other African leaders now in detention. It also accepted the duty to arouse the same concern that people felt about South Africa with regard to other parts of the world, such as Algeria, Portugal and Kenya.

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LUTHULI'S THANKS

On Monday night 2,300 people attended the Christian Action meeting on South Africa in London's Central Hall. Albert Luthuli sent a message of gratitude to the gathering, and a collection of £1,000 was taken.

Cassandra of the *Daily Mirror* urged everyone to send messages of encouragement to three people "under great strain in the courageous stand they are taking against apartheid"—the Bishops of Johannesburg and Cape Town, and Alan Paton.

"If we are going to call the Africans to patient non-violence," said Sydney Jacobson, Foreign Editor of the *Daily Mirror*, "then we must do everything we can to help and support them."

Mary Benson, of the Africa Bureau, reminded the audience that non-violence had run through all the evidence given at the Treason Trial.

REPRESSIVE VIOLENCE

The Peace Pledge Union's executive committee deeply deplored "the repressive violence and ensuing slaughter in South Africa" in a resolution passed last Friday. It called this the "direct consequence" of the policy of the South African Government towards its non-white citizens.

The British Government was asked "to express the strongest possible disapproval of the policy of apartheid and the violence shown by the police, and to cease immediately to supply the South African Government with tanks and other weapons of violence."

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Other States that will be represented include Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Senegal, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Uganda, Zanzibar, Angola, the French Cameroons, Mauritius, Kenya, Basutoland, Swaziland, the Belgian Congo, S.W. Africa, Algeria, Somaliland (Italian and British), and South Africa.

Among the latest acceptances from personalities outside Africa are **Asha Devi**, close associate of Gandhi and Director of Gandhi's Ashram at Sevagram, and **Rev. Ralph Abernathy**, close associate of the Rev. Martin Luther King in the anti-racist

struggle in the American South, who will represent Dr. King at the Conference.

April Carter, Secretary of the British Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, **A. J. Muste**, national chairman of the US Committee for Non-violent Action, **Gene Sharp**, former PN staffman now in Oslo studying non-violence, and **John Rex**, lecturer in sociology at Leeds University, have confirmed that they will also be going.

A big welcome

Meanwhile preparations for the Conference, *Michael Randle cabled from Accra on Tuesday*, are going ahead at lightning speed to welcome, accommodate and provide transport for the 150 or so delegates who are now expected to attend.

Large welcome notices will greet delegates at the airport as they land, and the road into Accra as well as the Community Centre, where the Plenary Sessions take place, will be decorated with flags, streamers and notices.

The tragic killings in South Africa are expected to figure prominently during the Conference, which can, however, take heart from the fact that, in spite of the most vicious suppression that non-violence has possibly ever had to face, the heroic defiance of the iniquitous pass laws continues.

(See also *Fenner Brockway*, p. 7.)

Chemical war protest

THE Army Chemical Centre at Edgewood, Maryland, is producing poison gases and other chemicals designed to blind, paralyse or kill both soldiers and mass civilian populations.

This is stated by the US Committee for Non-violent Action in its appeal for non-violent action at the Centre, beginning on April 8.

Three days later a walk will start from Edgewood to the White House, Washington, which will take four days.

Non-violent entry into the Chemical Centre may be attempted by some of the demonstrators on Monday, April 18.

● The Anti-Apartheid Committee will operate from this week-end from 200 Gower Street, London, N.W.1.

Show outside sympathy, say Africans

From a correspondent who has made a study of South African affairs and has recently left the country. As he hopes to return he must remain anonymous.

I FOUND the general feeling among Africans in favour of the overseas boycott—this is the opinion of both intellectuals and "workers."

"Yes," they say, "we may suffer from such action, but we are suffering so much at present, and this shows us that folk outside have sympathy with us, and by this gesture express their friendship."

It is also an indication that widespread public opinion in Britain is opposed to the Government of South Africa's policy of apartheid. The Government's attitude may harden as a result, but the boycott increases their sense of isolation, whether they admit it or not, and they are increasingly uneasy.

Lawyer's doubts

One prominent African lawyer expressed doubts to me, but on the grounds that such action from outside might have the effect of making his own people think that they need not make an effort for themselves, of thinking they could just depend on outside help and support.

Since I left at the end of January, I have heard that, even before the month's "official" boycott, there was more and better fruit on the market in Cape Town—and cheaper; export stuff being used at home.

The Africans have some experience of boycott themselves—last year, the African National Congress launched a boycott of potatoes in protest against the treatment of Africans on the farms.

To accept the boycott weapon meant real sacrifice on the part of the Africans, but they did it. Chief Luthuli, President of the S. African National Congress, now exiled in South Africa, acted in a wisely strategic way by calling it off after a set period—showing the Africans' power if they chose to use it.

The Africans had made sacrifices—but the action had worked!

recently issued to US Air Force reservists under the signature of Brigadier-General Chappell, deputy Chief of Staff Operations.

This document was brought to light by a protest against it from the US National Council of Churches. Their protest was understandable. Says the manual:

"Communists and fellow travellers have successfully infiltrated our churches. . . . Even the pastors of certain churches are card-carrying Communists.

"The National Council of the Churches of Christ in USA officially sponsored the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. Of the 95 persons who served on this project, 30 have been affiliated with pro-Communist fronts, projects and publications."

No complacency please

As a result of the publicity given to the manual the Secretary of the Air Force, Mr. Dudley Sharp, has issued an apology to the National Council of Churches and "categorically repudiated the publication as representing Air Force views."

But we must not allow this apology to lull us into a false sense of security, or interpret it as a denial of the existence of the Red Peril.

Observe then the report, published in I. F. Stone's Weekly, of the Feb. 25 meeting of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Many people seem to think this body no longer exists but followed the soul of Senator McCarthy into the Shades. Not at all. In a country so devoted to the arts of public entertainment you don't get rid of a good farcical comedy all that quick. And this one looks like having a longer run than Charley's Aunt. It fills the gap left by the disbanding of the Keystone Cops.

Anyway, at this meeting Mr. Arens, Staff Director of the Un-American Activities Committee, expressed himself as greatly peeved by the Air Force Secretary's public repudiation of the manual.

"Did you," he asked, "mean to convey the impression that the Air Force was convinced that the Council of Churches was not infiltrated by fellow-travellers?"

Air Force Secretary Sharp: "No. I did not intend any concurrence with this state-

ment made in an Air Force publication."

The situation therefore is now clear. In the view of the Air Force chiefs, the statements made in the manual are quite correct, but they should have been kept secret, not given publicity.

The reasons for secrecy are obvious. For the manual includes the following further assertions:

A foolish remark often heard is that Americans have a right to know what's

going on. Most people realise the foolishness of such a suggestion.

Keep in mind that public news media present only as much information as the Government wants to release.

If you suspect an individual of deliberate subversion, report him, of course, but try to be sure he isn't just dissatisfied or a complainer. If you do know of a

Keep an eye out at all times for suspicious activities. . . . Don't hesitate to report incidents to the Air Police.

In short, spy on your fellow-servicemen all you can, and keep the public in the dark.

Various members of the Committee then proceeded to emphasise their concurrence with the principles of the manual.

Mr. Doyle complained that "the unfortunate apology" had got into the newspapers and thereby "discredited the work of this Committee."

The chairman, Mr. Walter: "You call it unfortunate. I call it stupid."

Mr. Willis: "It is a black eye on this Committee."

Mr. Arens reported that since they discovered that the leadership of the churches had at least 100 affiliations with Communist causes, they find that "instead of being in the hundreds the affiliations are now, according to our latest count, into the thousands."

And if they go on counting you bet they'll soon run into millions.

Is Satan winning?

Are we then to conclude that the citadel of our Faith really is in danger of succumbing to the onslaught of Satan's Muscovite myrmidons?

There is still hope of salvation. Unfortunately nowadays we cannot launch a large-scale crusade against the infidel, as that would only result in both faithful and infidel going up together within the first 15 minutes, and we should all be back where we were before the Fall. Waste of energy, if you ask me.

But all is not yet lost. The Holy Inquisition is still at work, sorting out the witches and the heretics, and washing the brains of suspects with all the latest detergents.

If the worst comes to the worst and the US Churches do drop Christianity, the US Air Force will take over and, granted the continuation of the nuclear stalemate, the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

But above all I feel that our religion is safe while there are Samsons like Secretary Arens to defend it with the jawbone of an ass.

Colour on the march



Preparing for Aldermaston. Hard work is now in progress in all the Regions, not to mention the head office, of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Above: the nerve centre of London Region CND.

RED, green, yellow, blue, magenta, orange and gold—lollipop banners in these colours will be bobbing about in the Aldermaston March at Easter.

The colours denote the various regions of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and are mainly for administrative purposes, particularly the accommodation of people and their baggage.

To help solve the question of accommodation on the march, questionnaires have been dispatched all over the country from CND headquarters at 2, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT.

Falcon Field, Aldermaston, 12 noon.

Easter Saturday: assemble King's Meadows, Reading, 9 a.m.

Easter Sunday: assemble Wellington St., Slough, 9.30 a.m.

Easter Monday: assemble Turnham Green, 9.30 a.m. and march to the final rally in Trafalgar Square which starts at 2.30 p.m.

Thousands are planning success for that other, and earlier, Early Warning System against nuclear war—the Aldermaston March.

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to make "filibusters" and other political manoeuvres irrelevant.

The Southern Senators are not the only people who have been taught a lesson by these Negro demonstrations. Anybody who is concerned with racial justice or non-violence can learn a great deal. In the rest of this article I want to discuss three important lessons of the Negro revolt. They are :

1. The direction of social change.
2. The need for preparation.
3. The sources for future social change.

The spontaneity of direct action

The present movement began when four students sat down in a lunch counter which only serves Negroes standing up and asked for service. This was not part of an organised plan. Four people just decided to make as simple and direct a protest as possible against an injustice which affected them every day of their life. Just as spontaneously, their protest spread across the South.

I think this indicates something important about the direction and nature of social change. For many years now radicals have been preoccupied with the need to build up large organisations which would be the agents of change. The kind of change they wanted was large scale institutional change.

The weaknesses of this attitude are becoming more and more evident. Organisations petrify and stifle people. They encourage conservatism. One only has to look at the British trade union movement to see this clearly demonstrated. A movement which started out wanting to make revolutionary changes in society becomes a movement which is fairly content with things as they are. It is led by bureaucratic and complacent men.

When organisations petrify people become bored. Everything is too large for them to feel involved. Even if changes come about, they are so watered down by the time they are put into operation that they have little effect in people's lives.

The "sit-ins" in the South point quite a different way. They point to direct simple actions against injustices that people meet constantly in their lives. There are many advantages of this kind of action. It springs directly from people's own experience. If it is to work everybody has to take a full part in the action. Though there is obviously still a need for leaders, the gap between them and the rank and file is much smaller.

The Nashville Story

In Nashville, CORE helped make school integration work despite mob violence which marked the change-over from segregation in the autumn of 1957. In so doing, CORE evolved a workable community programme which might well be applied in any Southern community where court-ordered school integration is being thwarted.

"If Little Rock had had a similar inter-racial group, Governor Faubus might have

of decency, persisted in sending their children to formerly white schools."

CORE has now actively joined in the "sit-in" campaign, and its three field workers are all active in the South. But CORE is not just content to start actions. By preparing beforehand for the actions, it hopes to prepare participants for what they are likely to meet.

In the News Chronicle, Joyce Egginton recently described a CORE "rehearsal" in Portsmouth, Virginia, where a CORE field worker had gone as it was one of the few

I think these examples give some idea both of the nature of CORE's activities, and the seriousness and persistence with which they are carried out. (CORE is now appealing for more funds so that it can act even more seriously.)

Non-violence is not a natural growth; it has to be carefully cultivated. Anybody who is seriously concerned about non-violent direct action would do well to study CORE's work.

Sources of social change

The spearhead of the campaign has been Negro students. The clue to why students are the leaders was given by the white, quoted in our news story last week, who said: "They aren't afraid any more." The students have a wide enough background to see that white domination is not part of the scheme of things, but something that can be challenged and altered.

This is not surprising and it might have been predicted. What is surprising is that the Negroes should use a non-violent form of protest. One might well have anticipated that violence would have been their response.

One of the reasons for the use of non-violence is, of course, strategic. Violence would be foolish since the Southern whites have all the organisation and equipment to use violence much more effectively than the Negroes.

But even strategic reasons do not give you the courage that is necessary for the use of non-violence. This courage surely springs from the Negro condition. In the South the Negro is in danger every day of his life. He might be attacked by white hooligans, he might be arrested for little reason. In this situation you must have courage; it is the only way to survive.

The important point for radicals is that for non-violent action rather different qualities are needed than for the more traditional kinds of political action. Exactly what these qualities are and how they can be developed needs to be discussed at great length.

These three points are not the only ones raised by the "sit-ins." But I think they are three of the most important. A careful consideration of them will have consequences for our own actions, particularly in the struggle against nuclear war. I hope they will be considered.

One of the weakest features of the case for non-violence has been its lack of a coherent intellectual position. We are getting plenty of action to provide us with ideas. Now let's get on with the theory.



CORE protests racial discrimination wherever it finds it. In this picture, white and coloured CORE members demonstrate against discrimination in the employment of airline pilots. Photo : Cracking The Colour Line

been checked without the use of federal troops," wrote Martin Luther King, Negro leader of non-violence.

King wrote this in a preface to the pamphlet, "A First Step Toward School Integration," in which Anna Holden, a leader of Nashville's CORE, gives a vivid account of the group's campaign.

For example, the day the Hattie Cotton school was bombed, the pamphlet relates: "Mrs. Watson telephoned Dr. Miller (a member of the CORE group).

"If I ever needed anybody, I needed

places where Negroes had become violent when provoked :

On a Saturday afternoon, in the gymnasium of a YMCA at Portsmouth, Virginia, some 50 Negro students met to act out a private little drama which they made up as they went along.

Their stage "props" consisted of two kitchen tables placed end to end with a line of wooden chairs along one side of them. As these were set in position, the students' instructor, a slim, young, white man who looked no more than a college boy himself, assigned the parts.